1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

by the aid and example of their Kiowa associates with whom they ended their enmity in 1790,[7] the Comanches succeeded in adopting the war patterns of the Plains with complete success. The war ideal permeated male behavior and markedly colored their legal system. Out of this matrix the Comanche brought new and significant legal forms. The society was in a dynamic state of flux; institutions were not sharply drawn, nor were the Comanches generally conscious of the configuration of their own social forms. They lived a hard, fast-moving life in a world of change, in which the individual loomed large as the important social unit.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

There was no political unit which could be termed the Comanche tribe. The tribe was no more than a congerie of bands held together as a peace-group by the bonds of a common tongue and culture. There appears to have been no machinery for institutionalized political action on a tribal scale. It is the present belief of the Comanches that Echo Of The Wolf's Howl[8] convened the first tribal council of the Comanches in order to debate the problem of peace with the United States at the time of the proposal of the Medicine Lodge Treaty in 1876. War between the several bands never occurred, although the warriors of the Swift Stingers band joined with the United States Army as scouts in the actions against the other Comanches in the 1870's. They are still thoroughly disliked by all other Comanches.

The population of the Comanche tribe was distributed among a number of autonomous bands, each loosely organized and each centering its activities in a vaguely defined territory within the Comanche country.[9]

The Comanche band, or local group, ranged in size from a single family camping alone, through the small camp of related individuals who formed a composite extended family, up to the large band of several hundred persons.

Clan organization was absent. The kinship principle was weak even within the extended family band.[10] For though groups of relatives tended to

---

[7] James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa* (Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 17, 1898), pp. 162–165.

[8] A phonetic transcription of personal names used in this monograph is given in Appendix C.

[9] Mooney's estimate as to the prehistoric Comanche population is 7,000 for the year 1690. *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 80, 1928), p. 13. In 1892 the population was 1,545. (Mooney, *Calendar History*, p. 235).

[10] Comanche kinship usages have been analysed by the author and compared to those of the Shoshone. Cf. E. A. Hoebel, *Comanche and Hɜkandika Shoshone Relationship Systems* (American Anthropologist, vol. 41, 1939), pp. 440–457.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

114
121
701 Lowie, the Comanches fall far short of them. The Comanches were unlike other tribes of the plains in that they possessed only the slightest trace of organized military fraternities.

114
701 Twenty-five years ago, Professor Lowie recorded the presence of warrior societies among the Comanches. From one informant he learned that the fighters were organized into companies in time of war, their groups being known as the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse. How they functioned is not noted. Lowie also recorded that certain dances were linked to specific bands, stating that the Crow dance was exclusive to the Yep Eaters, the Horse Dance to Those Who Turn Back, and Swift Fox Dance to Those Who Turn Back and the Swift Stingers.[4] But whether the men who performed these dances were formed into "regiments" or military associations as were the Arapaho dancers,[5] Lowie's material fails to make clear. Because of the contiguous distribution of such dances linked with definite orders in the Plains tribes to the north of the Comanche, it is possible that they were so organized.

114
175
619 A recently published Spanish document from the eighteenth century presents a diagrammatic sketch of a Comanche contingent allied to a Spanish expeditionary force. The tally strokes representing the individual Comanche warriors are grouped into five separate units. Before each group of tallies stands the pictographic representation of a man, beside whom is an inverted spear with a crooked butt. This tally sheet is an official record of the Comanches who engaged in the Spanish expedition against the Apaches in the year 1788. A. B. Thomas, who reported and translated this document in the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST,[6] suggests the possibility that the segmentation of the Comanches in the tally is in accordance with the dance societies which possibly existed in the tribe at the time. The third enclosure (*noticia*), which is embodied in the Spanish report, is a list of the Comanche chiefs and the number of lodges joined to each chief. The Spanish list of the five groups and the chiefs who headed them identifies the chiefs by bands. These bands are given as *Cuchanec*, or *Cuchantica:* Buffalo-eaters (cf. no. 8, p. 13, *Ku'tsucka*); *Yupe, Yupinis* and *Gente de Palo:* Timber People (cf. no. 4, p. 13, *Ho-is*); *Yamparica* (cf. no. 3, p. 13, *Ya'pain*). These are three of the great Comanche bands—the very three which, according to modern Comanche tradition, led in the southward migration. The band membership of the

[4] R. H. Lowie, *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, vol. II, 1916), pp. 809–811.

[5] A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho* (American Museum of Natural History, Bulletin No. 18, Part 2, 1904), pp. 151–229.

[6] A. B. Thomas, *An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document* pp. 289–298.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

chiefs listed in each particular group is fairly homogeneous within the group but not wholly so. The size of each group varies greatly in the number of chiefs identified with the group. The number of lodges "under the command of" each chief varies from six to one hundred. A note by the Spanish chronicler explains that "there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children" in each lodge.[7] In the first group, twelve chiefs with three hundred and sixty-six lodges are listed. In the second group, but two chiefs with fifty-six lodges are listed.

In all the systems of military societies of the Plains Indians for which we have truly reliable data, the number of officers for any society never exceeded seven. Usually the officers were limited to four to a society. Furthermore, the warrior societies did not camp as units (excepting the Dog Soldiers of the Cheyenne). The presence of women and children in the lodges of the camp indicated by the notes accompanying the tally sheet, and the unevenness of the number of chiefs in the group, along with the variable number of lodges under the jurisdiction of the numerous chiefs, indicate that the groupings are band groupings and that the sub-chiefs with their lodges are simply the heads of the extended family units within the band (as described on page 14 above). The document in question does not supply adequate evidence of the existence of military associations among the Comanches.

Only one of the Comanche informants consulted in this study made reference to warrior societies. These White Wolf called "regiments." He was unable to give any specific information concerning their organization or functioning, however.

The tenuousness of the historical data and the paucity of material recorded by Lowie, when combined with the ignorance of present-day Comanches on the subject of military societies, all indicate that the societies were not a developed and integrated part of Comanche culture. Therefore, they could not have played an important role in social control and government.

The small groups of Crow Tassel Wearers and Big Horse men, by virtue of their being continuously at war, could not play a role in the give and take of everyday life in the community. Hence they, too, were of little direct significance in social control.

MEDICINE SOCIETIES

Evidence is found of small and limited medicine societies among the Comanches. Possessors of beaver medicine and eagle medicine of a particu-

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

ground. Múβa watched for his chance until he could shoot a wounding arrow into Pepper.

"Can't you do better than that?" Pepper cried. So a second arrow was used to kill him.

Without attempting to take the dead man's horses, they went back to where the other Comanches waited. "I have killed our friend," Muβa announced. The four who were there then mounted and went out to look for the body. They stayed a long time preparing a grave, wailing and mourning for the dead man. Múβa and his captive spent the time preparing a meal from their dead mule, which Pepper had shot.

When their friends came back from their mortuary undertakings, they ate heartily. In the meanwhile, Pepper's captive drove his master's horses into camp. There was great mourning among his master's relatives. Because Pepper had no father, a war chief named Bakamuts, a brave and respected man among the Those Who Move Often, called for attention.

"Listen to me, all!" The wailing ceased. "There is a young brave named Múβa. He is of a large household and in it are many brave warriors. It is my mind that we let this matter go; because his friend first did the wrong thing, it was not his fault. Pepper was mean to have started the fight over a horse."

Bakamuts took these steps to close the incident because both he and the Antelope chiefs were afraid that the two bands would exterminate each other. They did not want a senseless fight between their bands. Crazy Bear and another Antelope chief counselled, "Let us forget this thing which has happened. Our children have intermarried; for their sakes, let us forget it."

Thus tribal consciousness checked a possible internecine war. But note that the rationale is on the kinship basis. The Comanche had not yet reached the state of pure polity. As to the materials of the action, the murdered warrior's resentment at the butchering of his horse was rooted in the very personal nature of horses as property. Comanche horses were highly regarded and imbued with a degree of personality. It is not unlikely that the slaying of horses was to the owner close to murder and hence no light thing to compose. Two horses killed for one horse butchered is in one sense a more-than-murder retaliation. The revenge-killing of Pepper roots no less obviously in a pattern that atonement deemed ample, and freely offered, was to be accepted, not to be insultingly refused by shooting horses instead of receiving them.

The extremes to which feelings on a favorite horse could go are also demonstrated in the famed murder of Rocky Thorn by Crowding A Person.

Case 15. Killing a Favorite Horse and Murder: Rocky Thorn vs. Crowding A Person Informant: That's It

"The trouble resulted from a raid on a Comanche camp by enemies. As the raiders were making their get-away, a young boy jumped on the nearest loose horse to

The Comanches

and read it back. They can talk our language, but they just don't want to!" The Comanche language became the lingua franca of the South Plains, and at Indian gatherings the proceedings usually took place through the medium of the Comanche tongue. This may explain why the Comanches were reported not to be so proficient in the use of the sign language as the other Plains tribes.

"Tribe" when applied to the Comanches is a word of sociological but not political significance. The Comanches had a strong consciousness of kind. A Comanche, whatever his band, was a Comanche. He could say, "I am of the *Nɔmɜnɔ: I am of The People*. By dress, by speech, by thoughts and actions the Comanches held a common bond of identity and affinity that set them off from all other Indians—from all the rest of the world. In this sense, the tribe had meaning. The tribe consisted of a people who had a common way of life. But that way of life did not include political institutions or social mechanisms by which they could act as a tribal unit. There was, in the old days, no ceremonial occasion or economic enterprise that pulled all the far-flung bands together for a spell, be it ever so brief. There was no chieftain or group of chieftains to act for the tribe as a whole. There was no tribal council.

The first time the bands with all their men, women, and children came together was in the dying moments of the old, free culture at the time of the first Comanche Sun Dance in 1874.

The Comanches were organized in family groups and bands. The bands were autonomous units, each loosely organized and each centering its activities in a vaguely defined territory within the Comanche country. But, on the other hand, there were no distinct boundaries between the several band territories, and any Comanche or family was free and welcome to settle, or hunt, or move through the regions of other bands, whatever his own affiliation might be. Although warriors of the Wasp band joined with the United States Army as scouts in the final campaigns against their kinsmen, Comanche bands never warred with each other, but rather co-operated on the friendliest terms whenever happenstance drew them together.

The Comanche band was strikingly similar in organization to the aboriginal Shoshonean groups of the Great Basin in the days preceding white contact. It ranged in size from a single family camping

The Comanches

The family headmen - and there was at least one for each group -
622 were the peace, or civil, chiefs. When the large band was functioning
623 as a unit, it contained several peace chiefs, one of whom was recognized as the head chief of the band. The rest formed an advisory council to the leader and at the same time maintained their positions as family headmen.

184 Although the various bands had cultures so similar that it was
619 extremely difficult for the uninitiated to differentiate among them,
621 each band had certain peculiarities which served to identify its members in any company. Each had its favorite dance.[10] One band habitually made clothing from antelope skins, although the others preferred deer skins. One made no pemmican, another made it without berries, and a third always added berries.[11] The southern groups were thought to prefer darker clothing than their northern kinsmen.[12] There were also slight differences in speech. For instance, the Wasp band members (Southern Comanche) pronounced their words more slowly than the Antelope band of the Staked Plains.[13] Bands also differed in a number of cultural aspects less easily recognized, such as magical techniques, sexual attitudes, and character traits. Cultural differences persisted, although it was mandatory upon an individual to follow the customs of the group with which he lived in order to be socially accepted by his new associates, and this despite the frequent exchange of band allegiance and the interband marriages. The extent of cultural differences at present corresponds somewhat to that in the United States between North and South or East and West. All the older Comanche informants were as conscious of the differences as a Texan in Boston. "That was —— [name of band] way" was a very common reply of informants to questions or comments. Notwithstanding these and other slight differences that may have existed, there was, on the whole, little gross variation in habits, customs, and institutions.

194 Only the larger bands received permanent recognition and a name.
619 Before the close of the eighteenth century, the Spaniards in New

[10] R. H. Lowie, "Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XI, Part 10 (1916), 809–12.
[11] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, 221.
[12] W. B. Parker, *Notes Taken During the Expedition Commanded by Captain R. B. Marcy Through Unexplored Texas, in the Summer and Fall of 1854*, 202.
[13] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 17–18.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

The People

Mexico spoke of three major bands. For a time, the Anglo-Americans designated three divisions—Northern, Middle, and Southern—but as they came to know the Comanches better, the practice was replaced by the use of definite band names. Robert S. Neighbors, in 1860, was able to identify eight bands. James Mooney listed thirteen, but Robert H. Lowie, in 1912, recorded only four. R. B. Thomas, who lived with the Comanches for many years during the early reservation period, knew of twelve bands, six of which had already been absorbed or exterminated;[14] and at the time of the work of the Santa Fé Laboratory Field Study Group in 1933, living Comanches still remembered thirteen.[15] Multiple names are usually recorded for a band, and in some instances it is impossible to determine whether two names refer to the same or different bands. Regardless of how many bands there may have been, during the nineteenth century there were five outstanding divisions, the others being small or transitory groupings.

The largest and best-known divisions of all the Comanches was the *Pɛnatɜkɔ*, or Honey-Eaters. Other names by which the band was known include *Teyuwit* (Hospitable), *Tɛkapwai* (No Meat), *Kuβatpat* (Steep Climbers), *Pɛnanɜ* (Wasp or Quick-stinger, i.e., Raiders), and *Ho'is* (Timber People). This band led in the southward migration and lived adjacent to the Spanish and Texas settlements in the vicinity of the Cross Timbers belt and along the headwaters of the central Texas rivers. A map of the country between the frontiers of Arkansas and New Mexico, based on the expeditions of Captain Marcy from 1849 to 1852, locates the Southern Comanches, or Wasps, between the Pecos River and Fort Phantom Hill.[16] Their residence in the timber belt explains some of the various names by which they were called. They lived near the settlements and associated more with the Caddos, Wichitas, and whites in historic times than with their western and northern kinsmen. Early references by the whites to the Comanches pertain largely to this band. According to their own traditional accounts, the Wasps had moved so far away that for a long time they had no contact with other Comanche groups. They were

[14] R. B. Thomas, "Kiowa-Comanche Experiences," *loc. cit.*, 153.

[15] E. A. Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 12–13.

[16] Annie H. Abel (ed.), *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun*, map (unattached).

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

rediscovered by the Yap-eaters (*Yamparikə*) and Antelope bands (*Kwəharɛnə*), who went far southward into Mexico on a raiding expedition. The relationship was restored, and thereafter they maintained a loose alliance with their western and northern kinsmen.[17] But still they were distinct enough to help the United States troops against other Comanches—a fact remembered with bitterness by members of other bands to this very day.

Another Comanche band which the Anglo-Americans came to know well, though unfavorably, was the Those Who Move Often (*Nɔyɛka*), or *Nɔkoni* (Those Who Turn Back). Although all Comanches were nomadic, these were the real gypsies of the tribe. "They always turned back before they got to where they were going," said Eagle Tail Feather; but it is more likely that they were just drifting about, not going any place in particular. After the death of a chief who bore the same name as his band (*Nɔkoni*), because of the tabu forbidding the speaking of a dead person's name, the band became known as *Dətsanɔyɛka* (Wanderers Who Make Bad Camps); they moved so much that they were slovenly in their camp habits.

In 1786, Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico stated that most of the Wanderers were located between the Arkansas and the Red rivers, but that their camps were to be found across Texas as far south as the banks of the Pecos. During the nineteenth century the Wanderers generally ranged immediately north of the Wasps. Together with some of their neighbors, the *Tenawa* and the *Tanima* (Liver-eaters), they composed the group referred to as the Middle Comanches. The map based on the expeditions and accounts of Captain Marcy, 1849–52, shows the Middle Comanches along the headwaters of the Red River for about one hundred miles southward to the headwaters of the Brazos (Main, Double Mountain, Clear Fork, Salt Fork, and Middle Fork) River in the region between Fort Phantom Hill and Fort Belknap.[18] Their favorite retreat and stronghold was in the breaks of the Pease River country where they found protection from the blizzards and safety from pursuing enemies.

Another powerful band was that of the Buffalo-eaters (*Kutsuɛka*),

[17] Agent E. L. Clark to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report," May 18, 1881 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence file K-13).

[18] Abel, *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun*, map.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

174
619

so named because they always had plenty of buffalo meat. Buffalo meat was the principal food of all Comanches, but this particular division, whose favorite haunt during the nineteenth century was the Canadian River valley, may well have been more dependent upon that animal, since they were in a favorite rendezvous of the buffalo herds. They established relations with the Spaniards in New Mexico early in the eighteenth century, and after peace was established in 1786, *Comancheros* (traders from New Mexico settlements) visited them frequently and called them *Cuchaneo* or *Cuchantica*. The eastern and southern members of this group likewise came to be well known to the Spaniards in Texas; in fact, they are commonly referred to in the documents of the Bexar archives as Texas or Eastern Comanches. They were noted as a band which was ever out on a raid. An emissary, Francisco Xavier Ortiz, whom Governor de Anza sent in 1786 to visit them, reported that in an area about one hundred miles square between the Pecos and Red rivers, he found eight *rancherías;* that the smallest had thirty tents; all eight together had about seven hundred. He further reported that there were three to four warriors to the tent, which would give an estimated population of between six and seven thousand; on the basis of what we know about the Comanches, this was an exaggeration, although his claim that they owned nine hundred horses and mules is quite credible.[19]

[362]

The northernmost part of the Comanche country was occupied by the populous and important band of "Yap-eaters," *Yapainə*, or *Yamparikə*, eaters of a potato-like root called *Yɛp* by the Shoshones, but *Yap'* by the Comanches. As the band closest to the Shoshones, and as the band that clung to Shoshone food-getting habits, digging for roots, they were probably the last of the Comanche bands to break off. Indeed, the Fort Hall Shoshones, in Idaho (who still think *they* are the people—*nɜm*) call all Comanches *Yamparika*. In earlier times this band had been called *Widyu* (Awl), according to Mooney, but because the use of the word became tabu, as in the case of the *Nokoni*, it was changed to *Ditsakana* (Sewers), which conveys the same idea.[20]

223
262

[19] A. B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 73, 290–91.

[20] Apparently also spelled *Titchakenah* (Those Who Make Bags While Moving). It is maintained on good authority that the *Titchakenah* was once a separate band who before the reservation days had become a portion of the *Yamparika* band. See Agent Clark to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report," May 18, 1881, *loc. cit.*

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Comanches

174 619 According to their own accounts, they came around 1700 from the Rocky Mountain country, north of the headwaters of the Arkansas River, to the valley of that stream in what is now eastern Colorado and western Kansas. Previously they had inhabited the country with the Shoshones. Governor Anza in 1786 located them as ranging across present northern Colorado and south to the Arkansas River. The accounts indicate, however, that the Yap-eaters felt at home south of that stream also. During the nineteenth century they camped generally on the south side of the Arkansas River and along the Canadian, the Arkansas being considered the northern boundary of their territory. They raided, however, far north of that stream across Kansas and Nebraska.

Another populous band, although little known until towards the close of the pre-reservation period, is the Antelope or *Kwɔharenɔ*. The name of the band is indicative of its life on the open plains where antelope were plentiful. And because they lived and traveled on the [293] glaring, treeless plains, these Comanches carried on their backs a square of rawhide that could be held over the head as a sunshade. Hence they were also nicknamed *Kwahihɔkenɔ*, "Sunshades on Their Backs." William Clark called them Qua-he-hu-ke, which he said meant "back-shade," because in their treeless country the only way to shade the face was to turn one's back to the sun, but we doubt the correctness of this interpretation.[21] Before the Comanches migrated to the South Plains country, the Antelope band was located just south of the Yap-eaters. The two bands probably drifted south about the same time, and then the Antelopes made the *Llano Estacado* their home and challenged all intruders. Within the wild depths of the Tule and Palo Duro canyons they found protection from the winter blizzards of the uplands and safety from their enemies until Colonel MacKenzie bearded them in their stronghold on September 27, 1874. They harried the frontier of Texas as much, perhaps, as any other Comanche band, and they were the last of the Comanches to submit to the efforts of the United States to bring them under control. For years they scoffed at their beef-eating kinsmen on the reservation, and did not submit until they had been drubbed repeatedly by superior military forces. It has been argued that present-day Comanche

[21] W. P. Clark, *Indian Sign Language*, 119.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

dialects, traditions, and customs are largely Antelope.[22] To what extent this is true is impossible to judge, but even a casual student of Comanche culture cannot fail to note that the influence of the Antelope band is strong. These people are reluctant to accept innovations to this day, a few still preferring the tipi and the arbor to the modern house.

In addition to the above-mentioned major groups, there were a great many bands of less importance. Some of these are difficult to distinguish because of similarity of band names and variations in spelling the same name, and also because some bands had become extinct or had merged with others before becoming known to whites.

The *Tanima* (Liver-eaters), mentioned by James Mooney, were so called because they are reputed to have eaten the liver of their game in its raw state. Although Mooney found only one survivor at the time of his visit, Agent E. L. Clark reported several survivors living with other bands in 1881,[23] and Goldstein was able to identify the band in 1931. The Liver-eaters were neighbors of the Wanderers and with them composed a part of the group known as Middle Comanches.

A third band which lived in the same region as the Wanderers and the Liver-eaters was the *Tenawa* or *Tenawit* (Down Stream), also noted by Mooney. The *Tenawa* and *Tanima* were frequently confused by the whites, partly because of the similarity of the sound of the names and partly because they inhabited the same geographic region. So confused are the accounts of the two that it is often impossible to determine to which band the name refers.[24] The Down Streams were practically exterminated in a battle with the Mexicans about 1845, and the band did not exist when the Comanches went on the reservation in 1869, or else they had been absorbed by other bands. R. N. Richardson believes that the Yupes or Jupes listed by Governor Anza as one of three major divisions known to the Spaniards in New Mexico in 1786 were the *Tenawa*.[25] The Liver-eaters

[22] R. B. Thomas, "Kiowa-Comanche Experiences," *loc. cit.*

[23] Agent Clark to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report," May 18, 1881, *loc. cit.*

[24] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 21, lists the following variations of the two words and states that it is an incomplete list: Te-na-wish, Ta-ne-wa, Te-ne-wah, Te-na-wa, Tan-nee-wish, Ten-en-e-ree, Te-ne-mes, and De-na-vi.

[25] *Ibid.*, 20–22.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

174 819 and Down Streams often camped with the Wasps and were probably strongly influenced by them.

The *Iɛɛta'o* habitually put up more pemmican than they could eat in a winter. They threw the surplus out in the spring, and other Comanches, seeing their dumps of dried, black meat along the trails, dubbed them *Iɛɛta'o*, "Burnt Meat."

The *Wɔ'ai* carried a name meaning "Wormy," but more inelegantly, according to That's It, the full name means "Maggots on the Penis." They are supposed to have married incestuously, and hence they were also scornfully called *Namaɜ'ɜnɔ*, "Something together" or "Intercourse." Mooney reported them to be extinct at the time of the reservation period, but the Santa Fé Laboratory Field Group was able to record evidence of them in 1933. There were a few living in the vicinity of Geronimo, Oklahoma, in 1945, and only a few of the older tribal informants had no knowledge of this band.

The *Mutsanɜ* (Undercut Bank) were so called because their favorite camp site was underneath an overhanging cliff. According to Mooney, who called them *Mot-sai*, they were annihilated in a battle with the Mexicans sometime around 1845, presumably suffering the same fate as the Down Stream band. Mooney also identified a group which he called *Pagatsu* (Head of the Stream), probably the same band as that recorded by the Santa Fé Laboratory group as *Panaixtɜ* (Those Who Live Upstream).

A band famous among the Comanches but little known to whites was the Water Horse (*Pahuraix*). According to That's It, who was a member of this band, these people were taller and slimmer than most other Comanches. They were reputedly great runners who excelled at lacrosse. They bet prodigiously on their prowess, and like the Lamarkian giraffe they are supposed to have gotten their height by stretching—they piled their bets so high! In time, on account of their propensity for huge stakes and their unbeatable skill at lacrosse, other bands refused to play them. Robert S. Neighbors says that they were called *Par-ķee-na-um* (Water People) because they usually camped near lakes and streams.

The *Wia'nɜ* (Hill Wearing Away) was a very small band of six or seven families which camped in a gap between a large hill and a rapidly eroding smaller one.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

The People

Mooney and Neighbors both listed a few Comanche bands that were not noted by any other reporters. Mooney's *Pohoi* (Wild Sage) were nothing more than some Wind River Shoshones who joined with the Comanches. Neighbors mentions a *No-na-um* band, who he said "live in the high prairie where there is no timber or running water, and never leave that kind of country." He also notes an *It-chit-a-bud-ah* (Cold People) band and a *Hai-ne-na-une* (Corn-eaters). All of these later groups were of little importance or had by mid-nineteenth century been absorbed or otherwise become extinct.

How many people all these bands added up to is hard to say. At best the Comanche tribe was never very large. Mooney estimated its population to be 7,000 in 1690.[26] Governor Anza of New Mexico reported that Comanches visiting Santa Fé and Pecos Pueblo in the first half of the year of 1786 included twenty-three chiefs representing 593 lodges or around 6,000 persons. In the same year Anza's emissary, Francisco Xavier Ortiz, reported that he visited an area about one hundred miles square north and east of the Pecos River where he found eight villages of "Kotsoteka," containing a population of 6,000 to 7,000.[27] The figure given by Ortiz is quite likely exaggerated, but if it is approximately correct, then the tribe at that time could have numbered as many as 20,000 to 30,000.

It was several years after the United States acquired the Louisiana Territory that government agents learned much about the Comanches. One of the first reliable estimates of their military strength was by P. L. Chouteau, agent for the Osages. He wrote in 1836, "The numerical military forces of the Comanches (which includes all males old enough and not too old to bear arms) is estimated, and always has been, by the Mexican Government at 8,000, but from my personal observation, I have been induced to calculate the number of Comanche warriors at 4,500."[28] In the following year United States military authorities estimated the number of warriors at about 5,400.[29] Based upon the figures given by Chouteau and Bonville, the population of

[26] James Mooney, "The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. LXXX, No. 7, 13.

[27] A. B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 290–91, 325, 327.

[28] Agent Chouteau to Stokes and Arbuckle, April 25, 1836, *loc. cit.*

[29] B. L. E. Bonville, captain, Seventh Infantry, to Commissioner, General Roger Jones, January 24, 1837 (MS copy, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, Archives, I).

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

one-quarter of the whole number have more or less of captive blood" (1898, p. 235). In 1927 Wissler tabulated 62.9 per cent of the Comanches as full-blood. It is the opinion of the writer that at present (1931) at most 10 per cent of the adults can with any assurance be considered full-blood. The Comanches themselves fully realize their almost total miscegenation.

The tribe had been subdivided into bands, the more important being Penateka, Yapa, Kwahadi, Kotsoteka, and Tanema. The first two in particular wandered south into Texas in early times, the other groups remaining north about the Arkansas River in Kansas. In the present investigation measurements were obtained on members of each of the mentioned bands, as well as on a few individuals of the Noyika band. The latter name apparently does not appear in the literature. However, Dr. Ralph Linton, of the University of Wisconsin, who recently did ethnological work among the Comanches, was kind enough to inform the writer that he too came across members of a Noyika division; he also remarks on the almost total elimination of the full-blood. The writer has not attempted to make anthropometric comparison between the various bands because of the totally inadequate numbers. Moreover, intermarriage appears to have been always indiscriminate with respect to band. At present distinction as to band seems largely lost, only the older people apparently remembering their old band affiliations.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS

Although the Comanches have always been fairly numerous (7000 in 1690)[4] and an important factor in the history of the southern plains and Texas, little is reported on them ethnologically[5] and even less physically. Catlin (1842, p. 66)

[4] Mooney, J., The aboriginal population of America north of Mexico. Smiths. Misc. Coll., LXXX, no. 7, p. 13, 1928.

[5] For the linguistic classification and the history of the Comanches, see, in addition, Clark, W. P. (1885, article Comanche); Bur. Am. Ethnol. Bull. 30, ('07, '10, articles Comanche and Shoshonean); Kroeber ('06–'07, p. 97). For fuller titles see bibliography.

b: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

THE COMANCHE SUN DANCE

By RALPH LINTON

796 THE last Comanche Sun Dance was held in 1878, the date being fixed with certainty by an eclipse of the sun visible in Oklahoma in the same year. Even before this time the ceremony seems to have been falling into disuse, due perhaps to the harassed life which the tribe had led during the preceding twenty years. One informant had attended this last dance as a small child, but his memories of it were vague and the account given here must be understood to be based on second hand evidence.[1]

796 Whether the Sun Dance was ever a regular annual ceremony among the
● 619 Comanche is uncertain. From at least 1860 on it was held at irregular inter-
621 vals, whenever some individual received the necessary supernatural sanction. It also seems highly improbable that the whole tribe ever attended a single Sun Dance. The autonomy of the various bands within the tribe was complete and there was little feeling of solidarity among them. Participation seems normally to have been limited to the band of the supervising medicine man with a few others who were in close and friendly contact with it and who came by invitation. Informants frequently described the dance
[801] as though only four bands were involved, but this was probably nothing more than a projection of the pattern of using four as a ritualistic number.

796 Every dance originated in a supernatural sanction received by some
787 medicine man. This was probably in the form of a dream or vision, although informants were not certain. The originator was usually a young man who was just beginning his career. Those who volunteered to dance were also, as a rule, young men who had few war exploits to their credit. It was said that their subsequent careers would be watched to determine whether the sanction received by the medicine man was authentic and that his reputation would be strongly influenced by their success or failure. The medicine man had complete charge of the ceremony, arranging all the details in accordance with his sanction. From the differences in the accounts given by various informants it seems certain that there was a good deal of variation in the procedure, extending even to differences in the form of the lodge used on different occasions.

796 The ceremony was held approximately in midsummer and continued for eight days, the first four being devoted to the gathering of materials

[1] The present notice seems to be the first report of the Sun Dance among the Comanche. There are, in fact, specific statements of its nonoccurrence in W. P. Clark, Indian Sign Language (Philadelphia, 1885) and James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians (Seventeenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 1, 1900), p. 322.

[pp i-419 not processed]

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

342 The Comanche tipi represented a wonderful combination of utility and portability. A dozen or more slender poles were tied together at the top and set up so as to form the frame-work of an irregular cone of such diameter as the material at hand and the size of the family made practicable. This framework was covered with buffalo hides, flesh side out, and offered excellent shelter, while an opening and flap at the top assured ventilation. The flap could always be adjusted so that the opening was protected from the prevailing wind on the same principle that ventilators on our modern buildings are constructed so as to shift with the wind. Recently the writer spent a hot August evening in a Comanche tipi constructed along traditional lines except that canvas rather buffalo hides served for covering. There was no smoke and the place was comfortably cool, notwithstanding the small fire in the center. Close examination re-
[354] vealed the fact that the covering was not drawn completely to the ground, but that instead an air space of several inches was left all around. This, together with the opening at the top, made for perfect ventilation. Had the night been cold, the canvas could have been drawn completely to the ground, thus sacrificing ventilation to comfort.

648 The Comanches were a nomadic people and as late as 1850 a
619 wandering band might be found in the valley of the Platte or in
[361] the plains of Durango, fifteen hundred miles further south. There was not a single Comanche tribe, but rather several distinct tribes, having but few relations the one with the other. The Penatekas, were the southernmost band or tribe and are most often heard of in the history of Texas. Occasionally they got in touch with the northern bands when the latter came down to the Brazos or Clear Fork to spend the winter or when some of the young men of the different bands, joined perhaps by their allies the Kiowas, put out
[578] for the Mexican border for a joint raid. Sometimes the Penatekas were even in a state of war with their northern kinsmen. Naturally when the chiefs of a given band made a treaty it was binding only on their immediate followers. Hence, their kinsmen who lived afar off were likely to ignore it even if they should hear of it. Furthermore, the nomadic habits of the Indians and the resultant divisions and subdivisions of the bands into small parties away from responsible leaders made it impossible for the chiefs to control their

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

own men. It is safe to say that the wild Comanches never kept a treaty and in the matter of treaty breaking some excellent examples were set by their white neighbors.[13]

The records available—and they are exceedingly scant and unsatisfactory—indicate that the political institutions of the Comanches were meager and poorly defined. Each band had a head civil chief and a head war chief, selected by the council of chiefs and leading men. In this connection I may state that I have never seen any satisfactory account of the manner in which chiefs were selected, or any definition of just what constituted a chief. It appears that heredity was one consideration but not the only matter of determining the status of a man in the tribe. Absolutism and the idea of divine right found little consideration in a Comanche camp. The chief or head man who proved tactless, cowardly, or inefficient would soon be supplanted: but this readjustment would likely take place gradually and by common consent rather than by formal procedure.

In all matters, even war, the head civil chief was superior to his war chief, but if the civil chief was aged and decrepit and the war chief vigorous and popular this civil superiority would be more theoretical than real. Verily, among the Comanches the man made the office and not the office the man. However, the war chief was apt to be the son, natural or adopted, of the head civil chief; and the most insolent Comanche brave had respect for the council of his elders.[14]

In theory, at least, the council was supreme, but its decisions were often indefinite and left each chief or head man a large measure of freedom of action. Generally the majority made little effort to impose its will on the minority.

During the later period, custom and the concensus of opinion, public opinion, we might call it, were practically the only sanctions behind Comanche law. However, it is likely that before the tribe

13. The Spaniards often commented on the difficulty of holding the Comanches to treaties. See The Baron de Ripperda to the Viceroy, August 25, 1772, in Bolton's De Mezieres, as cited, I, 342. The Anglo-Americans found that this problem increased with the passing of the years.

14. These statements represent my own opinions based on extensive reading and study in both Spanish and English sources. The tribal practices in these matters varied if we are to reconcile the different conflicting accounts. Josiah Gregg gives the matter some consideration. See Commerce of the Prairies (New York, 1845), 306-307, in R. G. Thwaite's Early Western Travels, XX, 342-343.

8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

668 792 c) After Iʂatai had issued the call for the Sun Dance "which was widely heralded, and when the tribesmen assembled in May at a point on Red river near the agency boundary, every band was represented, several of them by almost one hundred percent of their people. . . . The great chiefs of the past had never been able to bring the scattered threads of the tribe together, but now a youthful warrior was about to accomplish that."[7]

d) The doctrine which Iʂatai preached was as follows:

a′) The Caddoes, Wichitas and other tribes which had settled into reservation life were "going down hill fast" in numbers and well-being.

b′) This was the fate in store for the Comanches if they heeded to the demands of the government.

c′) But if they would turn to the war path and annihilate the Whites, then they would again become powerful and prosperous.

d′) With his supernatural power he was empowered to cover all the warriors with immunity to bullets, and so he could guarantee the success of the venture against the Whites.[8]

619 e) Because of the violent tenor which the councils took, the pénətekə (Swift Stingers) band of Texas Comanches and a few other smaller groups withdrew and departed for home.

668 792 726 f) When the Sun Dance was finished he led a great war party of Comanches, accompanied by some Kiowas and Southern Cheyenes, south into Texas to wipe out the buffalo hunters who had their headquarters at Adobe Walls. There they came up against the new large caliber, long-range buffalo guns with which the professional buffalo hunters were equipped. The effect was disconcerting and disastrous. Iʂatai was discredited, and though he did not receive the horse-whipping that some of the warriors threatened, his influence as a prophet and leader was ended.[9]

g) But the fire Iʂatai had set was not yet burned out. Throughout that summer and the next year scores of murderous attacks were made upon white travelers and settlements throughout the southern plains. The result was to provoke determined military action and the abandonment of the Quaker Policy in Indian Affairs on the part of the United States. By 1875 the Comanches were militarily crushed, and that year "marks the end of their influence as a frontier factor of significance."[10]

So ended the Comanche experience with militant messianism in 1873–74.

668 171 In conclusion, attention may be called to the significance of these data for the question of North American prophet cults. Wallis[11] has summarized the materials which demonstrate a general and long-standing tendency to messianic attempts in this part of the aboriginal world. Spier, in proving the roots of the Ghost Dance in the Prophet Dance complex of the northwestern tribes, has laid stress upon the indigenous nature of regeneration of the dead in the cultures of that area.[12] The

113

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 374. [8] Hoebel, *Comanche Field Notes*, unpublished.

[9] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 376. Also, Hoebel, *Comanche Field Notes.*

[10] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

[11] W. D. Wallis, *Messiahs: Christian and Pagan* (Boston, 1918), Chap. V.

[12] Spier, *op. cit., in toto.*

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

The husband may repudiate his wife or wives at any time, and take back his presents. The wife too, for some causes, may rebel against her tyrant lord, and leave off serving him. This course on the part of a Comanche wife, covers the husband with such disgrace that it can only be removed by killing someone—the first person he may happen to meet is made the victim. It nearly always happens that he first meets with his truant wife, or some near friend of hers, first after suffering the great disgrace, and, of course, he proceeds to slay her, or the vicarious relative.

IF THE COMANCHE can be said to live under any government, it may be set down as a radical democracy. The war chiefs are elected, on occasions of war, by the council of warriors. Their authority is only countenanced and their commands obeyed while hostilities continue. In peace, their authority is merely that derived from their wealth and prowess. The Comanches honor courage and skill in war, and the successful warrior is generally made a chief of some band. There is no unity in the tribe. Besides the seven sub-tribes into which they are divided, each of the seven is made up of small parties, each of which has a leader. In many respects the autonomy of the Comanche tribe differs from any other North American Indians. In most respects, the tribal government is very much the same as found among Xicarillo, Mescaleros, and other wandering Apaches, to which family it is claimed they are nearly related. But in two or three important particulars their method or system of government is entirely distinct from and wholly unlike that of any other people.

When a chief or prominent warrior wishes to organize a warlike expedition, he takes his yellow shield, puts on his eagle plumes, smears war-paint over his face, and assuming the weapons borne by warriors, he rides at a furious pace among the lodges, chanting his war-song as he goes. Any warrior who has taken two scalps may thus organize a marauding expedition, and no authority of chiefs or councils can prevent it. If there are warriors willing to join him they immediately mount their ponies, armed and equipped, and follow the warrior, who first declared war. Their chant is united with his, and thus a war party is made up. But it is not often that the entire band declares for war. The promoter of the war may be a simple warrior, without any authority whatever. For that particular expedition he may be chosen chief, or they may select another to lead them. When going against an enemy the commands of the chiefs are generally obeyed with alacrity. In peaceful seasons they have virtually no chief, or rather every venerable warrior among them is a chief, whose

24:. Richardson H-4 (no date 1929 NO6 Com che NO6
(1854-1859) Te s

that Ka-tem-e-see was an imposter and that he, Sanaco, was the real head of the Comanches.[4] Years of warfare with white men and savages and the struggle for existence incident to this confusion had demoralized the savages and weakened their tribal organization. There was not, in fact, any head chief and there had not been for several years. But these jealousies added substantially to the many difficulties the United States was destined to encounter in its efforts to point these people towards peace and civilization. Pride and independence were virtues these Indians no longer could boast of. Even Ka-tem-e-see begged of the commission corn and meat from their private stock of goods.

When Agent Neighbors returned in November, 1854, to establish the reservation, he found on the Clear Fork large parties of Wacoes, Caddoes, Tawakonies and other smaller bands together with "the whole Southern band" of Comanches, the number of the latter being, according to his estimate, between one thousand and twelve hundred souls. Another council was held and the Indians urged that the Government hurry the preparations for the reservation since they were in a starving condition.[5] But notwithstanding the general eagerness on the part of the Indians about two-thirds of them were not located on the reservation at the time and perhaps half of them never accepted life there because of an unfortunate circumstance which must be charged largely to a blunder of the United States military forces. While some of chief Sanaco's people were at Fort Chadburne, about sixty miles to the southwest, on a friendly trading expedition, they were told by a certain Leyendecker, an Indian trader, that the white people were making plans to attack them and kill them all. "If you want anything more," said Leyendecker to the Indians, "trade quickly, mount your horses, go to Sanaco's camp, and tell him the white people are collecting together to kill him and his people, I see it on this paper; tell him if he wishes to live to go north as quickly as possible—do not eat, sleep or rest, until you give him this talk from his friend."[6]

4. R. B. Marcy, Thirty Years of Army Life On the Border, (New York, 1866) p. 204. See also W. B. Parker, Notes Taken Through Unexplored Texas, 1854 (Philadelphia, 1854) p. 180.

5. Neighbors to Manypenny, Commissioner of Indians Affairs, January 8, 1855. Ms. University of Texas, photostat copy.

6. Hill to Neighbors, August 31, 1855, gives an account of these happenings of January preceding. Thirty-fourth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 1, Part 1, 502.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
175 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
178 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
224 supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
[789] istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
621 sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease
[222] the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food.
Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as
rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
175 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
178 and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[847] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
727 war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
562 as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
593 culture, came into practice.
304

Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
175 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
178 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
771 ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
776 Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
775 of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
775 fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
758 culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
578 Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
721 the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
796 simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their
Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
175 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
171 Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
621 groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
575 Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
794 a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills,
291 and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base
like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic
neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-
pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
72 on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment
[224] their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa
Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Their greatest source of irritation during this span of time was the growing white settlements of Texas. It was during this period of increased contact with Texas that the divisions of the Comanche bands into northern, middle, western, and southern began to acquire a new meaning—one couched in terms of degree of acculturation and the hostilities engendered between the tradition-oriented and conservative Comanche bands and the well-acculturated Comanche bands.

As early as 1779 Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza of New Spain had recognized the highly independent band organization of Comanche society. The term "tribe" had no political significance for the Comanches. Comanche society consisted of a number of independent and sometimes hostile bands which were linked by only the awareness that they were all *nəmənə*, or "The People." Each band exploited a vaguely defined range within the Comanche country and, with the notable exception of the "Quick Stinger" band, never made war on other bands. There were no pervasive political institutions among the Comanche to mold the bands into a political unit. No tribal council, no joint economic activity, and no ceremonial occasion existed that could unite all the bands for even a brief period of time. The various bands even dealt separately with the United States government. The first and last time that a majority of the bands came together was for the occassion of the first Comanche Sun Dance in 1874, held in the dying moments of the old, free nomadic Comanche culture. This first attempt to organize as a tribe, unfortunately for the Comanches, was attempted too late, for by this time the end of the nomadic Comanche life way was but a year in the future.

The Spanish government of New Spain considered the Comanches as being organized into three major bands. The Anglo-Americans also designated three divisions—northern, middle, and southern. Wallace and Hoebel (1925:25) record that Robert S. Neighbors, in 1860, cited the existence of eight Comanche bands; James Mooney later listed thirteen; Robert Lowie in 1912 mentioned only four. The Santa Fe Laboratory group in 1933 was able to gain information concerning thirteen bands. I was able to find evidence of five Comanche bands—*yapai* ("Root Eaters"), *kwahada* ("Antelopes"), *hɔnitaiβ* ("Corn White Men"); or *penatɔkɔ* ("Eating Honey All the Time"), *honono* ("Hill People"), and *noyaka* or *nokoni* ("Always Moving Around").

Comanche Bands

There is no information on the origins of the various bands or their pre-contact composition and geographical placement. In the following discussion of the major Comanche bands the reconstructed situation is that of the Comanche in their historic territory from approximately the late eighteenth century until the disintegration of the old nomadic Comanche culture in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The largest Comanche band was the *penatɔkɔ*, or "Honey Eaters," the southernmost Comanche band. At various times they were known as the "Hospitables," "No Meat," "Steep Climbers," "Wasps" or "Quick Stingers," and "Timber People." This band was the vanguard of the Comanches' southward migration.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

101 619 621 [177] The final territory they held was northcentral Texas. Early references by Anglo-Americans concerning the Comanches pertain mainly to these people. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:25) mention that they lived near the white settlements and associated more with the Caddos, Wichitas, and whites in historic times than with their western and northern kinsmen. Both their tradition and that of the northern Comanche bands tell how the two lost contact for a long period of time. It was only with the northern Comanches' raids into Mexico that the two groups finally reestablished ties.

619 621 657 177 101 The *penatɔkə* were put on reservations in Texas in 1854, while the majority of Comanches continued to raid freely throughout Texas. The reservation experiment failed, largely because of pressure from the white citizenry, and was ended in 1858. By this time the power of the Honey Eaters was minimal and, because of their proximity to the Texas settlements, they were made to suffer for many of the crimes perpetrated by the "wild" western and northern Comanches.

619 621 101 The *nɔkoni*, "Those Who Move Often," was the major band representing the middle Comanches. The center of their range was the Pease River region of Texas. The *tanima*, "Liver Eaters," and *kutsuɛka*, "Buffalo Eaters," composed the remaining middle Comanche bands, sharing the range of the *nɔkoni*.

The *kwahada*, "Antelope" band, is the representative of the western Comanches. They probably drifted south at approximately the same time as the *yapai* band and later moved onto the staked Plains. In late historic times the *kwahada* band was the most warlike of the Comanches and the last band to surrender to the United States Army.

The *yapai*, or *Yamparika*, "Yap Eaters," occupied the northernmost reaches of the Comanche country. The *yapai* was probably the last band to break from the Shoshonean traditions. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:27) write that the Fort Hall Shoshone of Idaho call all Comanches *Yamparika*. During the late nineteenth century they were situated from the south side of the Arkansas River to the Canadian River.

Acculturation and Schism

657 621 69 The reservation and postreservation period wrought great changes in the function and composition of the Comanche bands. Matters of protection, subsistence, and territory were taken from the control of the Comanches and brought under the power of various agencies of, or appointed by, the federal government. It was only with the land allotments of the Jerome Act in 1901 and 1905 that the members of the various bands were able to assert their band identity once again in real estate. Today, in Comanche, Cotton, and Caddo counties, the ancient geo-
101 619 621 graphic distribution of the four major bands is stated in miniature. The *yapai* are still the northernmost band, centered in the area delimited by the Oklahoma communities of Medicine Park, Meers, Elgin, Fletcher, Cyril, Apache, and Bonne. The *nɔkoni* are located south of the *yapai* and north of Lawton, Oklahoma. The greatest density of *kwahada* population is in western Comanche County in the

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

towns of Cache, Snyder, and Indiahoma. The *penatɜkə* continue to be the southernmost of the Comanche bands, centered in the vicinity of Walters, Oklahoma.

Perhaps the most ubiquitous and pervasive problems which have confronted the Comanche in the twentieth century are those directly associated with the process of acculturation with the dominant white culture. The traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal schism which has appeared as a disruptive force in contemporary Comanche society very closely follows band boundaries. As might be expected, the southern band, the *penatɜkə*, a people with a relatively long history of white contact experience, have been more successful in their transition into the twentieth century than have the *yapai* Comanches, the band with the least amount of contact experience. At present the *penatɜkə* are the progressive and liberal Comanches, while the *yapai* stand as the rallying point for all traditionally oriented and conservative Comanches. The *yapai* are joined in the traditionalist camp by the *kwahada* and the *nɔkoni*. This major division is thought of by the Comanches as a division between the northern "tribes" and the southern "tribes."

Most contemporary northern Comanches do not use the term *penatɜkə* for the southern people; rather they call them *hɔnitaiβo*, which means "eat corn like a white man," or, more literally, "corn white men." They are often referred to in English as "Freckles," alluding to the great degree of mixed-blood Comanches who, the northerners believe, fill the southerner's ranks. The southern Comanches are less colorful than the northerners in their invectives, simply stating that the northerners are, for the most part, uneducated, drunken, shiftless, and generally responsible for the poor reputation which the Comanches possess in many of the white communities in southern Oklahoma.

Historical indications of the basis for the present-day dichotomy of Comanche society are suggested by Richardson in *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (1933). Perhaps the most significant single factor responsible for the subsequent divisiveness of the northern and southern Comanche bands is the geographic distance which separated them well into historic times. At the peak of Comanche territorial expansion, as many as 600 miles could have separated the northern bands, ranging in southern Colorado and southwestern Kansas, from southern bands, inhabiting northcentral Texas.

The Kiowa and northern Comanches made a treaty in 1790 which did not include the southern Comanche bands. This treaty was never broken. During the Texas Revolution the southern bands refrained from taking advantage of the chaos in Texas to raid and plunder, while the northern Comanches and their Kiowa allies joined to make one of the most destructive Indian raids in Texas history. After the Mexican defeat in 1837 the Cherokee chief, Bowl, was commissioned to visit the various Comanche bands to seek peace. The southerners were cooperative and friendly; the northerners, however, were insulting and hostile. In the 1850s when the southern bands were put on reservations in Texas, the northern bands continued their raiding activities with the Kiowas. During this time agent officials complained of the demoralizing effects which the northern Comanches had on the southern reservation wards. Further, members of the

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

southern (Wasps or Quick Stingers) band joined the United States Army in its war against the "wild" northern Comanche bands. This bit of "Freckle" treachery is still perpetuated in the war stories told by the northerners.

The most obvious contemporary example of the ancient roots of this Comanche factionalism concerns the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache constitution established as a result of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. The southerners favor a separate Comanche constitution, while the northerners view this as an attempt to break the long-standing alliance between the northern Comanches and the Kiowas. Sanapia's statement on this subject is typical of the northerner's sentiment.

> Here, up to today, those Walter's people are trying to break us up. How could they do that? I got grandchildren that's Kiowa, and the Comanches are all mixed in with them Kiowas. We all together . . . got to stay that way. Those southern people aren't like us. All their old people are Mexicans. Well, they Comanches, same as us, but they act like white people. We've been with these Kiowas and Apaches for a long time, and we can't break it up.

Of course, this traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal differentiation suggests but the grossest divisions in Comanche society. There is also the Christian–peyotist factionalism, for example; however, like the other minor factional elements, it is subsumed under the greater northern–southern Comanche divisions. The northern people consider themselves peyotist and look with scorn on the southerner's predilection for Christianity—the white man's religion. The southerners consider the northerners' religious bias primitive and heathenish and but a further example of the inferiority of the northerners in general. In my field research I found the southern Comanches, relative to the northern Comanches, to be generally lacking in knowledge of, or sympathy toward, those aspects of Comanche culture considered by the northerners and Comanche literature to be traditional in nature, that is, relating to the time of the nomadic culture of the Comanches and the values and world view which it posited.

The preceding account of northern versus southern Comanche orientation is intended as a generalizing descriptive attempt. There are, of course, progressive northern Comanches and conservative southern Comanches. However, the relatively rigidly defined spatial distribution of the opposing "tribes" will usually call for the progressively oriented northerner to move south and the conservative southerner to move north. I observed several instances in which an individual, in order to visibly state his factional allegiance, moved his abode into the geographic area most closely identified with the faction which he supported.

Sanapia is a *yapai* Comanche and an archconservative and traditionalist. The majority of my informants were also northern Comanches, though not all were *yapai*. These were the only people who possessed some "accurate" knowledge concerning native doctors and doctoring practices and who actually interacted in this institutionalized framework. The southerners, recognizing Sanapia's role among the northerners, emphasized the superiority of white doctors over the "superstitious" doctoring practices valued by the majority of northerners.